

## Message Text

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ACTION IO-13

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00  
INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03  
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 DHA-02  
IOE-00 /077 W

-----271742Z 086305 /43

O 271613Z MAY 77  
FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5748  
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE  
AMCONSUL CAPETOWN IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE  
USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 1305

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LUSAKA 1489

CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, US, WA, SF, CA  
SUBJ: NEXT STEPS ON NAMIBIAN NEGOTIATIONS

REF: STATE 120183  
MAI MET WITH SAM NUJOMA AND SWAPO VICE PRESIDENT MUYONGO AFTER-  
NOON MAY 27 AND BRIEFED THEM AS INSTRUCTED REFTEL. FOWLOWING  
BRIEFING, NUJOMA SAID COMMENTS ON CAPETOWN TALKS HAD BEEN  
COMPLETED AND HANDED THEM TO ME (TEXT QUOTED IN FULL BELOW)  
SAYING COPIES WOULD ALSO BE GIVEN TO FOUR OTHER REPS OF CONTACT  
GROUP COUNTRIES RESIDENT LUSAKA. I ASKED IF HE WISHED ME TO  
CONVEY TO THE DEPARTMENT ANY INFO NOT CONTAINED IN WRITTEN  
STATEMENT. HE HAD THREE THOUGHTS: FIRST, HE WISHED TO EXPRESS  
HIS APPRECIATION FOR THE WORK DONE BY THE CONTACT GROUP TO  
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THIS POINT; SECOND, HE WANTED TO EMPHASIZE THAT ANY INITIATIVES  
UNDERTAKEN ON NAMIBIA SHOULD BE WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE UN,  
SPECIFICALLY SC RESOLUTION 385; AND THIRD, HE WAS READY AT  
ANYTIME TO MEET WITH VORSTER.  
TEXT OF SWAPO COMMENTS ON RESULTS  
OF CAPETOWN TALKS FOLLOWS:

QUOTE

REPLY OF SWAPO OF MUMVLIA  
TO THE NOTE FROM RA REPRESENTATIVES OF FIVE  
WESTERN MEMBERS OF THE U.N.  
SECURITY COUNCIL.

1. THIS IS TO ACKNOWLEDGE RECEIPT OF THE NOTE HANDED OVELGWWD  
SWAPO BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF FIVE WESTERN MEMBERS OF THE  
U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL, NAMELY U.S.A., U.K., FRANCE, FEDERAL  
REPUBLIC OF GERMANY AND CANADA, ON MAY 15, 1977 IN MAPUTO,  
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE, IN CONNECTION WITH THEIR  
CURRENT CONTACTS WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN REGIME REGARDING  
NAMIBIA.

2. SWAPO APPRECIATES THE EFFORTS OF THESE COUNTRIES TO FIND  
A BASIS FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT TO THE NAMIBIAN PROBLEM  
WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE RESOLUTIONS AND DECISIONS OF THE  
UNITED NATIONS.

3. THE POSITION OF SWAPO REGARDING A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT OF  
THE NAMIBIAN ISSUE IS AS FOLLOWS:-

(A) AAL EFFORTS AND ACTIONS BY INDIVIDUAL OR COLLECTIVE  
STATES MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS MUST BE AIMED SLELY AT  
THE FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF ALL THE RELEVANT RESOLUTIONS OF THE  
U.N. ON NAMIBIA, IN PARTICULAR, GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTIONS  
2145 (XXI) OF 1966, 2248 (S-V) OF 1976, 3295 (XXIX) OF  
1914 AND RESOLUTION A/RES/31/146 OF 1976 AND SECURITY COUNCIL  
RESOLUTIONS 245 (1968), 246 (1969), 276 (1970), 282 (1970),  
283 (1970), 284 (1970), 300 (1971), 301 (1971), 310 (1972),  
366 (1974), AND ESPECIALLY RESOLUTION 385 (1976) AS WELL AS  
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THE ADVISORY OPINION OF INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE OF  
1971.

(B) ANY ATTEMPT BY STATES MEMBERS OF THE U.N. AIMED AT  
BY-PASSING THE U.N. OR ERODING ITS AUTHORITY OVER NAMIBIA IS  
UNACCEPTABLE, AND WILL BE TOTALLY REJECTED. IN THIS CONTEXT,  
THE RECENT UNAUTHORIZED VISIT TO NAMIBIA BY REPRESENTATIVES  
OF THE FIVE POWERS IS ILLEGAL AND SHOULD NOT BE REPEATED.

(C) WE ARE SUSPICIOUS THAT THE CURRENT TALKS BETWEEN THE SOUTH  
AFRICAN REGIME AND THE FIVE WESTERN POWERS ARE AIMED AT PICKING  
OUT ONLY ONE ASPECT OF RESOLUTION 385, THAT IS ELECTIONS,  
AT THE EXPENSE OF OTHER CRUCIAL ELEMENTS SUCH AS

(I) WITH-DRAWAL OF SOUTH AFRICA'S ILLEGAL ADMINISTRATION  
AND, IN PARTICULAR ITS ARMED FORCES FOR NAMIBIA; AND

(II) UNCONDITIONAL RELEASE OF ALL NAMIBIAN POLITICAL  
PRISONERS.

(D) THERE IS TODAY IN NAMBIA AN ACTUAL STATE OF WAR AND  
HOSTILITY MARKED BY MILITARY AND POLITICAL CONFRONTATION BETWEEN  
THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE AND THE OCCUPATIONIST FORCES OF SOUTH  
AFRICA. THEREFORE, IN ORDER TO CREATE CONDITIONS FOR THE

HOLDING OF GENUINELY FREE ELECTIONS, IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT:

(I) SOUTH AFRICA WITH-DRAW ITS ILLEGAL ADMINISTRATION  
AND, IN PARTICULAR ITS REPRESSIVE ARMED FORCES FROM NAMIBIA;

(II) UNCONDITIONALLY RELEASE ALL NAMIBIAN POLITICAL  
PRISONERS. ONLY WHEN THESE CONDITIONS ARE CREATED CAN SWAPO  
PARTICIPATE IN SUCH ELECTIONS.

4. WITH REGARD TO THE CONTENTS OF THE NOTE, SWAPO FINDS THEM  
VERY AMBIGUOUS AND UNCLEAR. WE THEREFORE SEEK CLARIFICATION  
ON THE FOLLOWING:-

UNDER POINT 2:

- WHAT IS MEANT BY "AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT"?

WHAT ABOUT THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE? (SIC)

- ARE THE FIVE POWERS COMMITTED TO THE FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF  
ALL THE OUTSTANDING UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTIONS ON NAMIBIA?

UNDER POINT 5:

WHO ARE THZ "OTHER INTERESTED PARTIES"? DOES THIS INCLUDE THE  
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TURNHALLE GROUP? IF SO, IS THIS CONSISTENT WITH GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
RESOLUTION A/RES/31/146 OF 1976?

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ACTION IO-13

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00

INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 DHA-02

IOE-00 /077 W

-----271743Z 086211 /43

O 271613Z MAY 77

FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5749

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE

AMCONSUL CAPETOWN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE  
USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 1306

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 LUSAKA 1489

WHAT IS THE TIME-LIMIT FOR THE CONTACTS BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICA  
AND THE FIVE POWERS?

UNDER POINT 6:

WHAT IS MEANT BY "A CENTRAL ADMINISTRATIVE AUTHORITY FOR  
NAMIBIA"?

DOES IT MEAN THE UNITED NATIONS COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA, THE  
ONLY LEGAL ADMINISTRATIVE AUTHORITY FOR THE TERRITORY?  
WHICH "ULTIMATE POWERS WOULD BE RESERVED TO SOUTH AFRICA"?  
WOULD ENTERTAINING THE IDEA OF RESERVING ULTIMATE POWERS  
TO SOUTH AFRICA NOT AMOUNT TO THE LEGALISATION OF THE ILLEGALITY  
OF SOUTH AFRICA'S OCCUPATION OF NAMIBIA?

INTERNATIONAL INVOLVEMENT IN THE ELECTIONS

- WHAT IS MEANT BY "INTERNATIONAL INVOLVEMENT IN ELECTIONS"?

DOES THIS MEAN UNITED NATIONS SUPERVISION AND CONTROL AS  
STIPULATED IN RESOLUTION 385?

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DOES NOT THE IDEA OF THE INCLUSION OF SOUTH AFRICAN JURISTS  
IN THE PROPOSED "INDEPENDENT COMMISSION OF JURISTS"  
COMPROMISE THE UNITED NATIONS: POSITION CONCERNING THE  
ILLEGALITY OF SOUTH AFRICA'S OCCUPATION OF NAMIBIA?

HOW WOULD "THE UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE" SATISFY  
HIMSELF" AS TO THE FAIRNESS OF THE CAMPAIGN PROCESS AS WELL AS  
THE ELECTION ITSELF", IF THE SOUTH AFRICAN ARMED FORCES OF  
REPRESSION AND INTIMIDATION ARE NOT WITHDRAWN?

TRANSFER OF POWER

WHAT DOES IT MEAN THAT "THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT WOULD  
DEVELOP A PLAN FOR ITS WITHDRAWAL IN STAGES FROM NAMIBIA TO  
PREPARE A SMOOTH TRANSFER OF POWER AT THE END OF THE POLITICAL  
PROCESS"?

WHAT IS THE VIEW OF THE FIVE POWERS ON THE LAST POINT?  
THIS LAST POINT CONFIRMS OUR CONVICTION THAT SOUTH AFRICA  
INTENDS TO CONTINUE WITH ITS ILLEGAL OCCUPATION AND TO  
MANIPULATE THE SO-CALLED POLUTCAL PROCESS IN ORDER TO ENSURE  
THE INSTALLATION OF A PUPPET REGIME WHICH SHE WILL CONTROL  
FROM PRETORIA.

THIS SINISTER INTENTION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN REGIME WILL BE  
VEHEMENTLY CONDEMNED, REJECTED AND RESISTED BY THE NAMIBIAN  
PEOPLE.

MAY 27, 1977

LUSAKA, ZAMBIA  
END QUOTE.  
CLINGERMANN

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## Message Attributes

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**Capture Date:** 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am  
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**Subject:** NEXT STEPS ON NAMIBIAN NEGOTIATIONS  
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**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
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